

Democracy and Authority: Jacksonian Era

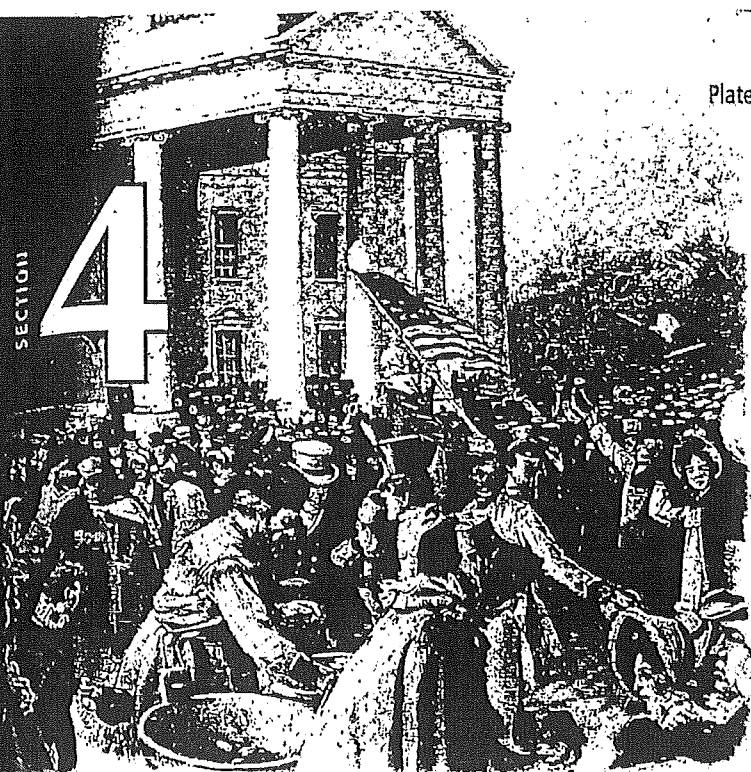


Plate celebrating President Jackson ►

WITNESS HISTORY  AUDIO

The "People's President"

After a disappointing loss in the election of 1824, Andrew Jackson rode a wave of popular support to the presidency in 1828. At his inauguration, many of those same voters caused a wild scene at the White House when they arrived in large numbers to celebrate the historic event.

"Ladies fainted, men were seen with bloody noses and such a scene of confusion took place as is impossible to describe. . . . But it was the People's day, and the People's President, and the People would rule."

—Margaret Bayard Smith in a letter to Mrs. Kirkpatrick, March 11, 1829

▲ A crowd gathers for Jackson's inauguration

Democracy and the Age of Jackson

Objectives

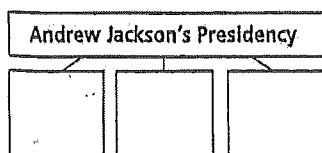
- Analyze the movement toward greater democracy and its impact.
- Describe the personal and political qualities of Andrew Jackson.
- Summarize the causes and effects of the removal of Native Americans in the early 1800s.

Terms and People

caucus	spoils system
Andrew Jackson	Indian Removal Act
Martin Van Buren	Trail of Tears
Jacksonian Democracy	

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Understand Effects Use a flowchart like the one below to record the effects of Jackson's presidency.



Why It Matters The election of 1824 signaled a shift in American political and social life. As a new political party emerged, the nation expanded its concept of democracy in some ways and narrowed it in others. The era became known for one of American history's towering and controversial figures—Andrew Jackson. **Section Focus Question:** What changes did Andrew Jackson represent in American political life?

The Election of 1824

As the presidential election of 1824 approached, two-term President James Monroe announced that he would not seek a third term. As you have read, his presidency was marked by what appeared to be general political harmony. There was only one major political party, and the nation seemed to be united in its purpose and direction. Beneath this surface, however, there were differences. These would become obvious in the election of 1824.

A Four-Way Race Four leading Democratic Republicans hoped to replace Monroe in the White House. John Quincy Adams, Monroe's Secretary of State, offered great skill and experience. A caucus of Democratic Republicans in Congress preferred William Crawford of Georgia. A **caucus** is a closed meeting of party members for the purpose of choosing a candidate. War hero Andrew Jackson of Tennessee and Henry Clay of Kentucky provided greater competition for Adams.

Vocabulary Builder

exploit—(shk SPLOYT) *v.* to take advantage of; utilize

A Troubled Outcome The crowded race produced no clear winner. Jackson won more popular votes than did Adams, his next nearest competitor. Jackson did well in many southern states and in the western part of the country. Adams ran strongest in the Northeast. But neither won a majority of the electoral votes needed for election. As a result, for the second time in the nation's history (the first was in 1800), the House of Representatives had to determine the outcome of a presidential election. There, Clay threw his support to Adams, who became President. When Adams appointed Clay as Secretary of State, Jackson accused them of a "corrupt bargain," in which he thought Clay supported Adams in exchange for an appointment as Secretary of State.

Jackson's opposition weakened Adams's presidency. Taking a broad, nationalist view of the Constitution, he pushed for an aggressive program of federal spending for internal improvements and scientific exploration. Jackson and other critics denounced this program as "aristocratic" for allegedly favoring the wealthy over the common people. This would become a growing theme in national politics.

Jackson Begins His Next Campaign Much of the criticism of Adams's presidency came from Andrew Jackson. Indeed, Jackson and his supporters spent much of Adams's term preparing for the next election. Jackson especially relied upon New York's Martin Van Buren, who worked behind the scenes to build support for Jackson. Meanwhile, Jackson traveled the country drumming up support among the voters—a new practice.

Jackson hoped to **exploit** the increasingly democratic character of national politics. In the 1824 presidential election, a growing number of states had chosen their presidential electors based on popular vote. This was a shift from the method used in the first presidential elections, in which state legislatures chose electors. By 1836, every state but South Carolina was choosing electors based on the popular vote. Voters also had an increased role in choosing other state and local officials across the country. For example, the use of caucuses was

replaced in many cases by more public conventions in which voters had a greater say in who became a candidate for office.

During the 1810s and 1820s, many states rewrote their constitutions. Those documents had originally restricted the right to vote and hold office to men who owned property. In 1776, about three fourths of all free men could meet the property-ownership requirement because they owned a farm or a shop. But that qualified proportion slipped as more men worked for wages in the expanding industries. Without their own farm or shop, they could not vote. The losses caused by the Panic of 1819 had also removed many voters from the rolls.

The new state constitutions expanded the electorate by abolishing the property requirement. In most states, any white man who paid a tax could vote and hold office. These changes increased participation in elections. Male voter turnout that had been less than 30 percent in the elections of the early 1800s reached almost 80 percent in 1840.

Unfortunately, the expansion of democracy did not benefit all Americans. Most of the new constitution also took the vote away from free blacks—even those

HISTORY MAKERS

Andrew Jackson (1767–1845)

As a major general in the War of 1812, Andrew Jackson became a national hero when he defeated the British at New Orleans.

Bitter over his defeat in the presidential election of 1824, Jackson came back four years later and won decisively, despite a campaign that was rife with personal attacks on his character and that of his wife. Elected by the "common man," Jackson was the first President who was not an aristocrat from Massachusetts or Virginia, but rather from the Tennessee frontier. His presidential victory was marred, however, when his wife Rachel died before he moved to Washington to assume office. Jackson believed in a strong presidency and used his power to veto 12 congressional acts—more than all the previous six Presidents combined.

with property. Nor did the new constitutions allow women to vote. (With the exception of New Jersey, in which a loophole in the state constitution allowed property-owning women to vote until 1807, no state had ever allowed women to cast a ballot.) In addition, American Indians, who were not citizens of the United States, were denied the vote. Democracy was limited to white men.

Checkpoint How did Jackson respond to his defeat in the 1824 presidential election?

Jackson Emerges

During the mid-1820s, Andrew Jackson became the symbol of American democracy. Historians refer to the movement as **Jacksonian Democracy**. In his speeches and writings, Jackson celebrated majority rule and the dignity of the common people. He projected himself as a down-to-earth common man with humble roots, which contrasted with the image of the aristocratic leaders of the past.

Jackson's life reflected the nation's own story of expanding opportunity. He was born in a log cabin, orphaned as a boy, and wounded during the American Revolution. Moving west to the then-frontier, he had become a wealthy lawyer and planter in Tennessee. (In fact, Jackson was wealthier than Adams.) Jackson won military fame in the War of 1812 and in the wars against the Creeks and Seminoles.

The Election of 1828 By the election of 1828, Jackson's supporters called themselves Democrats, not Democratic Republicans. Jacksonian Democracy triumphed in the presidential election of 1828. With 56 percent of the popular vote and two thirds of the electoral votes, Jackson defeated Adams. A rowdy crowd attended Jackson's inauguration in Washington, D.C. Their raucous conduct symbolized the triumph of the democratic style over the alleged aristocracy represented by John Quincy Adams.

Jackson owed his victory to his campaign manager Martin Van Buren, who revived the Jeffersonian partnership of southern planters and northern common people. The party promised a return to Jeffersonian principles: strong states and a weak federal government that would not interfere in slavery. Only those principles, Van Buren argued, could keep sectional tensions from destroying the Union.

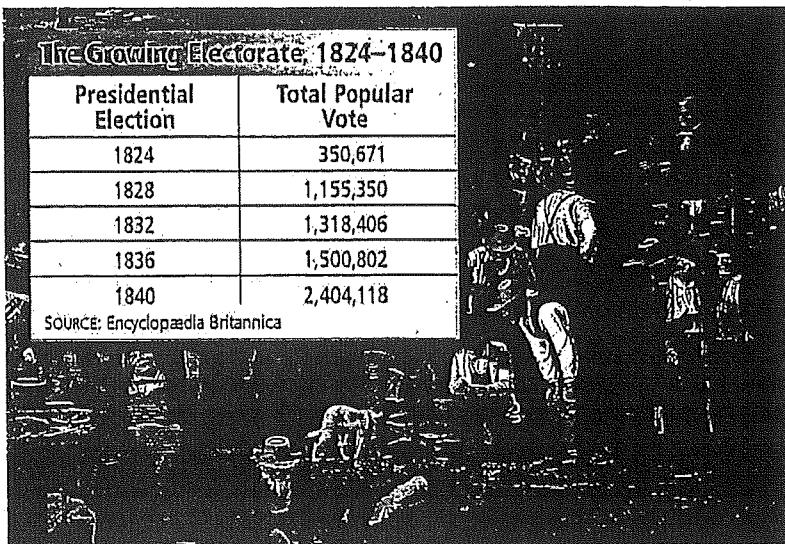
A New Party Structure While returning to old principles, the Democrats innovated in party structure. They developed a disciplined system of local and state committees and conventions. The party cast out anyone who broke with party discipline. While becoming more democratic in style, with carefully planned appeals to voters and great public rallies, elections also became the business of professional politicians and managers.

The new party rewarded the faithful with government jobs. Where Adams had displaced only a dozen government officials when he became President, Jackson replaced hundreds. He used the government jobs to reward Democratic activists. Van Buren's "reward" was appointment as Secretary of State, the

The Growing Electorate, 1824-1840

Presidential Election	Total Popular Vote
1824	350,671
1828	1,155,350
1832	1,318,406
1836	1,500,802
1840	2,404,118

SOURCE: Encyclopædia Britannica



The Growing Electorate

Before 1824, presidential election results did not include a popular vote count. By 1840, the number of voters had skyrocketed. The painting, entitled *The County Election* by George Caleb Bingham, reflects this trend. Which Americans were not represented on the table above?

◀ Jefferson Davis

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

Why Limit Slavery Only in the Territories?

The Free-Soil Party argued that slavery should not expand into the territories. Senator Jefferson Davis questioned the new party's motives. Why would they only try to limit slavery in the territories but not in the states? Rather than true concern for the slaves, Davis believed they had another purpose.

"It is not humanity that influences you. . . . It is that you may have an opportunity of cheating [the South] that you want to limit slave territory. . . . It is that you may have a majority in the Congress of the United States and convert the Government into an engine of northern aggrandizement. It is that your section may grow in power and prosperity upon treasures unjustly taken from the South. . . . [Y]ou want . . . to promote the industry of the New England states, at the expense of the people of the South and their industry."

—Senator Jefferson Davis of Mississippi

Slavery, States' Rights, and Western Expansion

Objectives

- Contrast the economies, societies, and political views of the North and the South.
- Describe the role of the Free-Soil Party in the election of 1848.
- Analyze why slavery in the territories was a divisive issue between North and South and how Congress tried to settle the issue in 1850.

Terms and People

Wilmot Proviso	secede
Free-Soil Party	Compromise of 1850
popular sovereignty	Fugitive Slave Act

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Categorize Organize people, groups, and ideas by their position on slavery.

Position on Slavery		
For	Against	Compromise
•	• Wilmot Proviso	•

Why It Matters From the nation's earliest days, the issue of slavery divided Americans. As the nation expanded, the problem became more pressing. Should slavery be allowed in the new western territories? Southerners said yes; many northerners said no. **Section Focus Question:** How did Congress try to resolve the dispute between North and South over slavery?

Slavery Divides the Nation

After the American Revolution, the North and the South developed distinctly different ways of life. The North developed busy cities, embraced technology and industry, and built factories staffed with paid workers. As immigrants arrived in northern ports, the North became an increasingly diverse society.

The South, on the other hand, remained an agrarian, or agricultural, society. The southern economy and way of life was based largely on a single crop: cotton. To grow cotton, southern planters depended on the labor of enslaved African Americans.

By the mid-nineteenth century, cotton cultivation and slavery had spread across the Deep South—that is, through Florida and Alabama into Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas. As the country continued to expand, Americans faced a crucial question: Should slavery be allowed to spread to new American territories west of the Mississippi River?

Wilmot Proviso Seeks to Limit Slavery Americans had long avoided the troubling issue of the expansion of slavery. But when the United States gained new territories as a result of the Mexican War in the late 1840s, the nation had to decide whether to admit these lands as slave territories or free territories. The delicate balance of power between North and South—free and slave—depended on this decision.

During the early days of the Mexican War, Pennsylvania congressman David Wilmot had predicted the dilemma. He proposed a law stating, “neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any” lands won from Mexico. Southerners angrily denounced the Wilmot Proviso. The northern-dominated House of Representatives approved the law, but the Senate voted it down.

Northern Views of Slavery Slavery ended early in the North, but slowly. By 1800, there were 50,000 enslaved people in the North, compared to nearly one million in the South. In 1860, there were still 18 slaves in New Jersey, but none in the other northern states. Most white northerners at the time viewed blacks as inferior. Laws in the northern states severely limited the rights of free African Americans and discouraged or prevented the migration of more. As a result, many white northerners had little personal experience with African Americans, slave or free, and only a few held strong opinions about slavery.

A vocal minority of northerners were abolitionists, or people who wanted to end slavery. They believed that slavery was morally wrong. Some abolitionists favored a gradual end, while others demanded that all slavery be outlawed at once.

Not all northerners wanted to end slavery. Some white northern bankers, mill owners, and merchants earned a lot of money on southern cotton and tobacco or by trading or transporting enslaved people. They were sympathetic to Southern plantation owners and did not want to abolish slavery. Some northern workers—especially those in unskilled, low-paying jobs—also opposed abolition, fearing that freed slaves might come north and compete with them for work.

Southern Views of Slavery Slavery was an integral part of southern life. Many southerners believed that God intended that black people should provide the labor for white “civilized” society. In a speech before Congress in 1837, planter John Calhoun of South Carolina firmly defended and even praised the virtues of slavery. “I hold it [slavery] to be a good . . .,” he said, “. . . and [it] will continue to prove so if not disturbed by the . . . spirit of abolition.” Calhoun’s words expressed the feelings of many white southerners.

By the 1850s, many southern politicians, journalists, and economists had begun to argue that the northern free labor system harmed society more than slavery did. Southerners claimed that enslaved people were healthier and happier than northern wage workers.

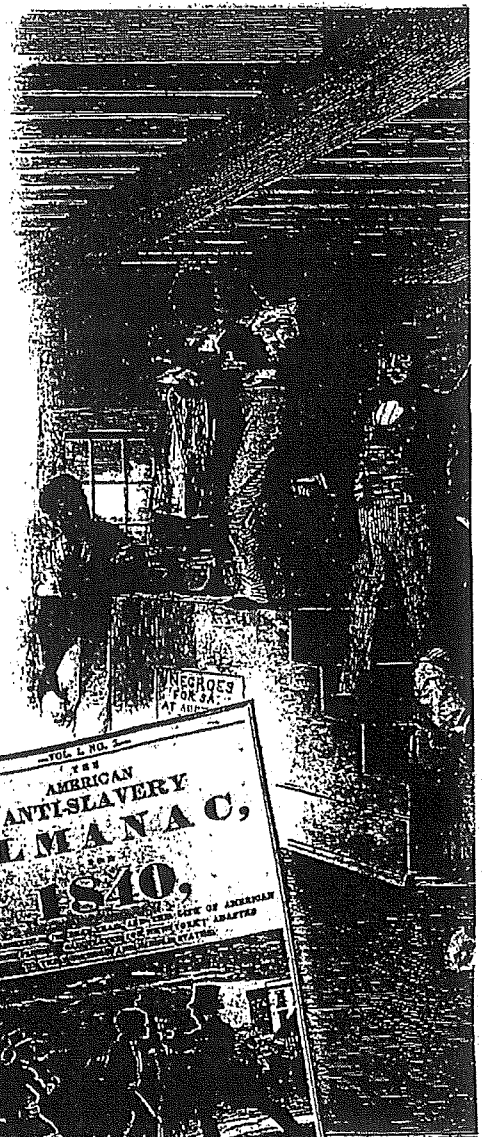
● **Checkpoint** How did northerners and southerners view slavery?

The Election of 1848

The Wilmot Proviso had given the nation’s political parties a new focus. In the 1848 presidential campaign, both Democrats and Whigs split over the question of whether to limit the expansion of slavery. New political factions emerged, with slavery at the center of debate.

A Slave Auction

An 1861 English engraving depicts a slave auction. The horrors of slavery led to the growth of the antislavery movement.





Van Buren Runs as a Free-Soil Candidate

Former President Martin van Buren was the Free-Soil candidate for the presidency in 1848. *What do the pictures on this poster tell you about the party?*


Free-Soil Party Vows to Keep Territories Free Several factions united in support of the Wilmot Proviso to form the new **Free-Soil Party**. Pledged to a "national platform of freedom" that would "resist the aggressions of the slave power," they nominated New Yorker Martin Van Buren as their candidate for President. The Free-Soil Party promised "free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men." Their main goal was to keep slavery out of the western territories.

Whigs and Democrats Dodge the Slavery Issue For decades, the major parties—the Whigs and Democrats—had avoided the slavery issue, thus managing to win support in both the North and the South. In 1848, they hoped once again to attract voters from all sides of the slavery debate. But with the Free-Soilers calling for limits to slavery in the territories, the major parties were forced to take a stand.

Both Democrats and Whigs addressed the problem by embracing the idea of **popular sovereignty**, a policy stating that voters in a territory—not Congress—should decide whether or not to allow slavery there. This idea had wide appeal, since it seemed in keeping with the traditions of American democracy. Furthermore, it allowed Whigs and Democrats once again to focus on the personal exploits and triumphs of their candidates rather than on the issues.

The Whigs nominated Zachary Taylor, a general and a hero of the Mexican War. The Democrats put forward Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan. Cass opposed the Wilmot Proviso and supported popular sovereignty. Taylor, who was primarily a military man, revealed little of his political opinions. But Taylor was a slaveholding Louisiana planter, so many southern voters automatically assumed that he supported slavery.

When the votes were counted, Taylor won the election, with slim majorities in both northern and southern states. Van Buren did not carry any states, but he did draw sufficient votes to cause Cass to lose. The Free-Soil Party, which had won 10 percent of the vote with its antislavery platform, had clearly captured Americans' attention.

 **Checkpoint** What role did the Free-Soil Party play in the election of 1848?

A Compromise Avoids a Crisis

To expand slavery or restrict it—this dilemma came to haunt the rapidly growing nation. In 1848, gold was discovered in California, and soon thousands of adventurers were headed west to seek their fortune. Before long, the burgeoning western territories would petition for entry into the Union. Should these new states allow slavery? Who would decide?

California Statehood Threatens the Balance of Power "Gold fever," as it came to be known, drew people from all over the world. They literally dug into the western foothills of California's Sierra Nevada, setting up towns with names that reflected their hopes and their origins: Gold Run, Eldorado (Spanish for "gilded one"), Dutch Flats, Chinese Camp, French Corral, Negro Bar, Iowa Hill.

Within a year, more than 80,000 people had journeyed to California. As the influx continued without a letup, California became a wild and lawless place.

Californians recognized that they needed a government to bring order to the chaos. In 1849, they drafted a constitution and asked to be admitted to the Union as a free—nonslave—state.

California's request created an uproar in the nation. For years, the North and the South had accused each other of being "aggressors" on the issue of slavery. And for years, the two sides had maintained a delicate balance of slave and free states in Congress. Now, inflamed southerners angrily noted that admission of California would tip the balance in favor of the free states.

Other concerns simmered around the edges of the slavery issue, threatening to come to an explosive boil. Texas, a slave state, and the federal government were locked in a dispute over Texas's northwestern border. New Mexico and Utah were organizing to become territories but seemed likely to someday join the Union as free states. In the North, abolitionists seemed to be gaining ground in their bid to ban slavery in Washington, D.C.

In the meantime, southerners demanded that the federal government enforce the weak and often-neglected Fugitive Slave Law of 1793. The law stated that runaway slaves must be returned to their masters, but it provided no government aid to do so. The South felt that its property and its honor were at stake. Many northerners insisted that the federal government should not help to enforce slavery.

Clay Offers a Compromise Since the War of 1812, the Senate had benefited from the leadership of three extraordinary statesmen: Daniel Webster from the North, John Calhoun from the South, and Henry Clay from the West. Clay's ability to work out compromises to the thorniest problems had earned him the title the "Great Pacificator." In the crisis now brewing, Clay, although in his seventies and ailing, once again came forward.

Clay urged the North and South to reach an agreement. He advanced a series of compromise resolutions, offering concessions to both the South and the North (see chart). The most significant proposed that Congress admit California as a free state but also enact a stricter fugitive slave law. Popular sovereignty would decide the slavery issue in the Utah and New Mexico territories. Clay's attempt at sectional justice garnered wide support.

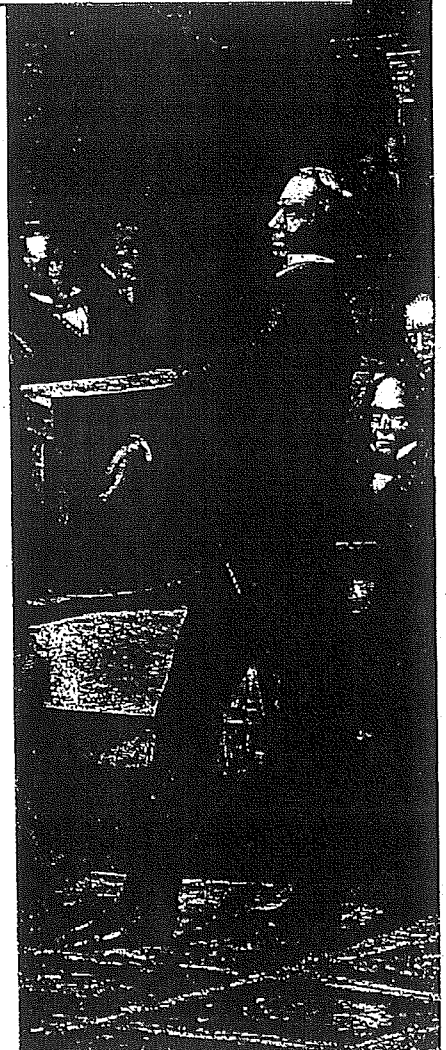
Calhoun and Webster Speak The Senate's other two giants—Calhoun and Webster—prepared long and deeply passionate responses to Clay's proposal. Calhoun was too sick and weak to deliver his own speech, but he watched defiantly from his seat as a younger colleague read it for him.

Calhoun's speech expressed his fear "that the agitation on the subject of slavery would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measure, end in disunion." But Calhoun did not believe that Clay's proposal gave the South enough protection. If the North would not submit to the South's demands, "let the states agree to separate and part in peace. If you are unwilling that we should part in peace, tell us so, and we shall know what to do." In other words, if the North did not agree, the South would secede, or break away, from the Union.

Daniel Webster, also ill and nearing the end of his life, tried to rally both northerners and southerners to the cause of unity. In an emotional speech, Webster urged senators to accept Clay's compromise. He suggested that the cotton and tobacco crops that flourished under slavery would not grow in California. Thus, he argued, popular sovereignty would allow the South to feel a measure of comfort but would not result in the spread of slavery to the West. (In fact, California eventually became a cotton-producing state—although a free one.)

Clay's Compromise of 1850

1. Congress would admit California as a free state.
2. The people of the territories of New Mexico and Utah would decide the slavery question by popular sovereignty.
3. The slave trade—but not slavery—would be ended in Washington, D.C.
4. Congress would pass a strict new fugitive slave law.
5. Texas would give up its claims to New Mexico in return for \$10 million.



Clay Proposes a Compromise

Henry Clay urged the Senate to adopt a compromise on the slavery issue. It was one of his last major actions in the Senate.



Examples of Changes in the Franchise

NOTE: A few unusual words or spellings have been underlined and are clarified in italics.

Massachusetts

Constitution of 1780, Section III. House of Representatives

IV. Every male person, being twenty-one years of age, and resident in any particular town in this Commonwealth for the space of one year... having a freehold estate (*that is, property owned outright*) within the same town, of the annual income of three pounds, or any estate of the value of sixty pounds, shall have a right to vote....

Amendment of 1821

Article III. Every male citizen of twenty-one years of age and upwards... who shall have resided within the commonwealth one year, and within the town or district in which he may claim a right to vote, six calendar months... and who shall have paid, by himself or his parent, master or guardian, any state or county tax...; and also, every citizen who shall be, by law, exempted from taxation, and who shall be, in all other respects, qualified as above mentioned, shall have a right to vote...; and no other person shall be entitled to vote in such election.

New York

Constitution of 1777

VII. That every male inhabitant of full age, who shall have personally resided within one of the counties of this State for six months immediately preceding the day of election, shall... be entitled to vote for representatives...; if, during the time aforesaid, he shall have been a freeholder, possessing a freehold of the value of twenty pounds, within the said county, or have rented a tenement therein of the yearly value of forty shillings, and been rated and actually paid taxes to this State... shall be entitled to vote...

Constitution of 1821, Article II

Section 1. [Qualifications of voters.]—Every male citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been an inhabitant of this state one year preceding any election, and for the last six months a resident of the town or county where he may offer his vote; and shall have, within the next year preceding the election, paid a tax to the state or county, assessed upon his real or personal property; or shall by law be exempted from taxation; or...shall have performed, within that year, military duty...; and also, every male citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been, for three years...an inhabitant of this state...shall be entitled to vote in the town or ward where he actually resides...but no man of colour (*color*), unless he shall have been for three years a citizen of this state, and for one year next preceding any election, shall be...possessed of a freehold estate of the

value of two hundred and fifty dollars...shall be entitled to vote at any such election. And no person of colour shall be subject to direct taxation unless he shall be...possessed of such real estate as aforesaid.

New Jersey

Constitution of 1776

All inhabitants of this colony of full age, who are worth fifty pounds (*basic unit of currency in use at the time*)...and have resided within the county in which they claim to vote for twelve months immediately preceding the election, shall be entitled to vote.

1807 New Jersey Legislature's "Act to regulate the election of members of the legislative council and general assembly, sheriffs and coroners in this state"

...no person shall vote in any state or county election for officers in the government of the United States, or of this state, unless such person be a free, white male citizen of this state, of the age of twenty-one years, worth fifty pounds..., and have resided in the county where he claims a vote, for at least twelve months immediately preceding the election.

1844 New Jersey Constitution

Every white male citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of this state one year, and of the county in which he claims to vote five months...shall be entitled to vote.

Historians often refer to the idea of Jacksonian Democracy. Is this a myth? Did Andrew Jackson stand for the common man or did he exercise executive authority at the expense of democratic liberty?

How did the election of Andrew Jackson differ from previous elections? What conditions were different that facilitated his winning the Presidency?

Jackson's Action (Who(m), what, when, where, why?)	Effect on Authority (National gov't, state gov't, particular individuals, agencies; How? Why?)	Effect on Democracy (Whom? How? Why?)
Spoils		
Indian Removal		

Bank		
Nullification		

Document 1: The Spoils System

Jackson entered the White House with an uncertain policy agenda beyond a vague craving for "reform" (or revenge) and a determination to settle relationships between the states and the Indian tribes within their borders. On these two matters he moved quickly and decisively.

During the campaign, Jackson had charged the Adams bureaucracy with fraud and with working against his election. As President, he initiated sweeping removals among high ranking government officials—Washington bureau chiefs, land and customs officers, and federal marshals and attorneys. Jackson claimed to be purging the corruption, laxity, and arrogance that came with long tenure, and restoring the opportunity for government service to the citizenry at large through "rotation in office." But haste and gullibility did much to confuse his purpose. Under the guise of reform, many offices were doled out as rewards for political services. Newspaper editors who had championed Jackson's cause, some of them very unsavory characters, came in for special favor. His most appalling appointee was an old army comrade and political sycophant named Samuel Swartwout. Against all advice, Jackson made him collector of the New York City customhouse, where the government collected nearly half its annual revenue. In 1838, Swartwout absconded with more than \$1 million, a staggering sum for that day.

Jackson denied that political criteria motivated his appointments, claiming honesty and efficiency as his only goals. Yet he accepted an officeholder's support for Adams as evidence of unfitness, and in choosing replacements he relied exclusively on recommendations from his own partisans. A Jackson senator from New York, William L. Marcy, defended Jackson's removals by proclaiming frankly in 1832 that in politics as in war, "to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy." Jackson was never so candid—or so cynical. Creating the "spoils system" of partisan manipulation of the patronage was not his conscious intention. Still, it was his doing.

Source: <http://millercenter.org/president/jackson/essays/biography/4>

Document 2: Indian Removal

Indian nations had been largely erased or removed from the northeastern United States by the time Jackson became President. But in the southwest, the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks still occupied large portions of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. For many years, Jackson had protested the practice of treating with Indian tribes as if they were foreign nations. Jackson did not hate Indians as a race. He was friendly with many individual Indians and had taken home an Indian orphan from the Creek campaign to raise in his household as a companion to his adopted son. But Jackson did believe that Indian civilization was lower than that of whites, and that for their own survival, tribes who were pressed by white settlement must assimilate as individuals or remove to the west out of harm's way. Confident that he could judge the Indians' true welfare better than they, Jackson, when employed as an Indian negotiator in his army years, had often used threats and bribery to procure cessions of land. Formalities notwithstanding, he regarded tribes resident within the states not as independent sovereign entities but as wards of the government and tenants-at-will.

The inherent conflict between tribal and state authority came to a head just as Jackson assumed office. The Cherokee nation had acquired many of the attributes of white civilization, including a written language, a newspaper, and a constitution of government. Under its treaties with the federal government, the tribe claimed sovereign authority over its territory in Georgia and adjoining states. Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi countered by asserting state jurisdiction over their Indian domains.

Jackson backed the states. He maintained that the federal government had no right to defend the Cherokees against Georgia's encroachments. If the Indians wished to maintain their tribal government and landownership, they must remove beyond the existing states. To facilitate the removal, Jackson induced Congress in 1830 to pass a bill empowering him to lay off new Indian homelands west of the Mississippi, exchange them for current tribal holdings, purchase the Indians' capital improvements, and pay the costs of their westward transportation. This Indian Removal Act was the only major piece of legislation passed at Jackson's behest in his eight years as President.

Indian removal was so important to Jackson that he returned to Tennessee to conduct the first negotiations in person. He gave the Indians a simple alternative: submit to state authority or emigrate beyond the Mississippi. Offered generous aid on one hand and the threat of subjugation on the other, the Chickasaws and Choctaws submitted readily, the Creeks under duress. Only the Cherokees resisted to the bitter end. Tentatively in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* in 1831 and more forcefully in *Worcester v. Georgia* the next year, the Supreme Court upheld the tribes' independence from state authority. But these legal victories pointed out no practical course of resistance for the tribe to take. Tacitly encouraged by Jackson, Georgia ignored the rulings. Jackson cultivated a minority faction within the tribe, and signed a removal treaty with them in 1835. Though the vast majority of Cherokees rejected the treaty, those who refused to remove under its terms were finally rounded up and transplanted westward by military force in 1838, under Jackson's successor Martin Van Buren. The Cherokees' sufferings in this forced exodus became notorious as the "Trail of Tears."

Meanwhile, dozens of removal treaties closed out pockets of Indian settlement in other states and territories east of the Mississippi. A short military campaign on the upper Mississippi quelled resistance by Black Hawk's band of Sacs and Foxes in 1832, and in 1835 a long and bloody war to subdue the Seminoles in Florida began. Most of the tribes went without force.

Given the coercion that produced them, most of the removal treaties were fair and even generous. Their execution was miserable. Generally the treaties promised fair payment for the Indians' land and goods, safe transportation to the West and sustenance upon arrival, and protection for the property of those who chose to remain behind under state jurisdiction. These safeguards collapsed under pressure from corrupt contractors, unscrupulous traders, and white trespassers backed by state authority. Jackson's desire to economize and avoid trouble with the state governments further undercut federal efforts to protect the tribes. For this record he bore ultimate responsibility. Jackson did not countenance the abuses, but he did ignore them. Though usually a stickler for the precise letter of formal obligations, he made promises to the Indians that the government did not and perhaps could not fulfill.

Source: <http://millercenter.org/president/jackson/essays/biography/4>

Document 3: The Bank Veto

The congressional Clay-Calhoun alliance foreshadowed a convergence of all Jackson's enemies into a new opposition party. The issue that sealed this coalition, solidified Jackson's own following, and dominated his second term as President was the Second Bank of the United States.

The Bank of the United States was a quasi-public corporation chartered by Congress to manage the federal government's finances and provide a sound national currency. Headquartered in Philadelphia with branches throughout the states, it was the country's only truly national financial institution. The federal government owned one-fifth of the stock and the President of the United States appointed one-fifth of the directors. Like other banks chartered by state legislatures, the Bank lent for profit and issued paper currency backed by specie reserves. Its notes were federal legal tender. By law, it was also the federal government's own banker, arranging its loans and storing, transferring, and disbursing its funds. The Bank's national reach and official status gave it enormous leverage over the state banks and over the country's supply of money and credit.

The original Bank of the United States was chartered in 1791 at the urging of Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton. Opposition to it was one of the founding tenets of the Jeffersonian Democratic-Republican party. That party allowed the Bank to expire when its twenty-year charter ran out in 1811. But the government's financial misadventures in the War of 1812 forced a reconsideration. In 1816, Congress chartered the Second Bank, again for twenty years.

Imprudent lending and corrupt management brought the Second Bank into deep disrepute during the speculative boom-and-bust cycle that culminated in the Panic of 1819. Calls arose for revocation of the charter. But the astute stewardship of new Bank president Nicholas Biddle did much to repair its reputation in the 1820s. By 1828, when Jackson was first elected, the Bank had ceased to be controversial. Indeed, most informed observers deemed it indispensable.

Startling his own supporters, Jackson attacked the Bank in his very first message to Congress in 1829. Biddle attempted to conciliate him, but Jackson's opposition to renewing the charter seemed immovable. He was convinced that the Bank was not only unconstitutional—as Jefferson and his followers had long maintained—but that its concentrated financial power represented a dire threat to popular liberty.

Under the advice of Senators Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, Biddle sought a congressional recharter in 1832. They calculated that Jackson would not dare issue a veto on the eve of the election; if he did, they would make an issue of it in the campaign. The recharter bill duly passed Congress and on July 10, Jackson vetoed it.

The veto message was one of the defining documents of Jackson's presidency. Clearly intended for the public eye, parts of it read more like a political manifesto than a communication to Congress. Jackson recited his constitutional objections and introduced some dubious economic arguments, chiefly aimed at foreign ownership of Bank stock. But the crux of the message was its attack on the special privilege enjoyed by private stockholders in a government-chartered corporation. Jackson laid out an essentially laissez-faire vision of government as a neutral arbiter, phrased in a resonant populism:

"It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes. Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government. Equality of talents, of education, or of wealth can not be produced by human institutions. In the full enjoyment of the gifts of Heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy, and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law; but when the laws undertake to add to these natural and just advantages artificial distinctions, to grant titles, gratuities, and exclusive privileges, to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics, and laborers—who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their Government. There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to equal protection, and, as Heaven does its rains, shower its favors alike on the high and the low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing."

Though some original Jackson men were flabbergasted and outraged at his turn against the Bank, the veto held up in Congress. It became the prime issue in the ensuing presidential campaign, with both sides distributing copies of Jackson's message. Jackson read his re-election as a mandate to pursue his attack on the Bank further.

Source: <http://millercenter.org/president/jackson/essays/biography/4>

Document 4: Nullification Crisis

Ratification of the U.S. Constitution (1787) left unresolved the issue of whether the federal or state governments were sovereign. Some assumed that the federal government was a subordinate creation of the states, which reserved the power to render null and void any federal law. In 1832, to resist the enactment of a protective tariff and to affirm states' rights, Vice President John C. Calhoun resigned his position and returned to South Carolina, which nullified the tariff. After the federal government threatened to use force, Henry Clay worked out a compromise that allowed the sectional crisis to cool.

Imposing tariffs was a federal power based on the constitutional power to raise revenue. The U.S. Congress began using it in 1824 to protect the newly emerging industries of the northeast. (Protective tariffs were also a component of Clay's "American System," which aimed to tie disparate U.S. regions together through internal improvements.) In 1828, Congress passed a highly protective tariff, which its opponents dubbed the Tariff of Abominations.

As agricultural exporters and importers of finished products, Southerners objected to the fact that the protective tariff raised the costs of their purchases and reduced their volume of exports. Southerners also understood that a federal government that could impose an unacceptable law had the potential to impose the most unacceptable of all, an outlawing of slavery. Southerners like South Carolina senator Robert Y. Hayne and Calhoun promptly raised questions about the tariff's constitutionality and claimed the right of a state to nullify an unacceptable federal law. They cited James Madison's Virginia Resolution and Thomas Jefferson's Kentucky Resolution, written during the debates over the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1798.

In January 1830, a series of debates between Hayne and Daniel Webster defined the terms of the argument over the nature of the federal union that would persist for the next 30 years. In 1832, Andrew Jackson won the presidency with Calhoun as his vice president. At a Jefferson Day celebration, Jackson toasted, "Our Federal Union it must be preserved." Calhoun responded, "The Union is next to our liberty most dear."

When Jackson signed the modified Tariff Act of 1832, Calhoun resigned in protest and went to South Carolina to interpose the state against federal enforcement of the tariff. Congress passed the Force Act, and Jackson threatened to send troops to enforce the tariff. Clay averted a collision by enacting a compromise that produced a degree of tariff reduction in 1833. Sectional tension, however, remained and would eventually culminate in

the Civil War, the victory of the Jackson-Webster definition of the Union, and the domination of the industrial region over the agricultural sector.

Source: Barnhill, John H. "nullification crisis." In *American History*. ABC-CLIO, 2000-. Accessed September 17, 2014. <http://americanhistory.abc-clio.com/>.

Jackson Discussion

- Small Group Activity:
 - You will learn about four of Jackson's actions while president:
 - The Creation of the Spoils System 1828
 - The Indian Removal Act 1830
 - The Vetoing of the Second Bank of the United States 1832
 - The Nullification Crisis 1832
 - For each action:
 - Develop a 1-2 sentence summary statement of what happened
 - Argue whether Jackson's actions are evidence of the fact that he:
 - » Promoted common man democracy?
 - » Produced an authoritarian presidency which over-stepped constitutional boundaries?
- Class Discussion:
 - To what extent was Andrew Jackson truly a common man who reflected new democracy emerging in the country? OR Did Jackson extend the powers of the President beyond his constitutional powers, growing the power of the president in ways that increased authority rather than democracy?
 - Where does this leave the United States with respect to democracy/authority by 1837?

11 THE JACKSONIAN ERA

Tennessee militia soldiers, inspired by his toughness, had nicknamed Andrew Jackson "Old Hickory" during the War of 1812. Since that time, less inspired than aggravated, his political opponents called him quite a number of other names. Jackson probably deserved all of the monikers, good and bad, for he was a complex man whose personal and professional decisions produced conflicting reactions during his lifetime and thereafter. Although negative evaluations mounted in the late twentieth century, Jackson was a hero to most of his contemporaries. He seemed to embody the image many Americans had, or wanted to have, of themselves. They embraced the image of the frontiersman, someone they saw as self-reliant, someone whose character was based in action not intellect: someone who used might to make right and who knew instinctively what right was. These Americans applauded him as a self-made man: he was an example to their sons that in America any boy, through self-determination, direction, and diligence, could indeed become powerful. Jackson's opponents, however, pointed out that his conduct also demonstrated how action without full reflection could have negative repercussions. To them, his decisions showed why there had to be checks on the delegation and execution of power.

Jackson, over time, came to epitomize the myth and reality of a new era in American democracy. The Jacksonian Age was a time when many Americans started to define democracy more inclusively and equality more broadly than the Founders had. They celebrated greater participation by white men, no matter what their economic and social rank, in the political life of the nation. Yet in doing so, showing the complexity and contradictory nature of this age, they also expounded more fully on the ethnic and gendered limits to American democracy, equality, and opportunity. Some Americans did protest those restrictions, using the language of revolutionary America and building on the broader interpretations of Jacksonian America. During this period there was growing debate about the abolition of slavery and Native American rights and property.

Another issue of increasing concern was that of the allocation and exercise of power between national and state governments. Old compromises were fraying and new ones increasingly difficult to forge. In this new era of the common man there was no question of sovereignty remaining with the people, but there were many heated debates over which government—state or national—best protected the common man's rights and interests. When national and state legislation came into conflict, which one did citizens ultimately want to have precedence? Did they want the one that confirmed rule by the majority to hold sway, or did they want those that protected minorities (state contingents) to have the power to check a possible tyranny by the majority? Some believed that the primacy of the national government had already been spelled out in the Constitution and confirmed by Supreme Court decisions; others believed that the state governments, which were more closely tied to the people, better represented citizens' interests, and they increasingly challenged the former.

Jackson initially straddled the debate, but when put to the test during the nullification controversy, he came down firmly for the supremacy of the national government. Yet as a believer and practitioner in self-reliance, he also seemed to believe that the nation should not do what the state could do, nor should the state do what the individual could do. This showed in his constitutional scruples about national power in terms of internal improvements. As did Madison and Monroe before him, Jackson opposed federal support for local projects. Even so, Jackson was not a states-rights proponent; he supported issues only if they fit within his concept of national interests.

As a general and then as president, Jackson's duty was to execute national policy. In pursuing that end—ensuring the security and developing the strength of the country—Jackson assumed and exercised ever greater power, which sometimes got him into trouble. When he was a general, politicians accused him of exceeding his orders and delegating authority, and during his presidency, political opponents accused him of exceeding his constitutional authority. Operating within a rather expansive interpretation of executive limits, Jackson strengthened the power of the presidency through his use of appointments and the veto. While willing to work with the legislative branch, he refused to be ruled by it, just as he refused to allow the Supreme Court or the state governments to have the last say in national affairs. He believed that he knew what was best for the country and acted on that belief. His popularity with the voters suggests that they agreed with him.
